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**STAROANGLICKÁ KAUZATIVNÍ SLOVESA, JEJICH FORMÁLNÍ STRUKTURA A NÁSLEDNÝ
VÝVOJ**

**OLD ENGLISH CAUSATIVE VERBS, THEIR FORMAL BUILD-UP AND SUBSEQUENT
DEVELOPMENT**

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Abstract

The present work provides a comprehensive overview of causativity – its definition, classification and characteristics – in a typological perspective. It outlines the development of causativity in English, from Indo-European to Present Day English with main emphasis on the Old English period and the factors that had led to the state of causative verbs at that time. In Research Part, it inquires into the possible competition between morphological and syntactic causatives and its future after-effects with respect to the described typology.

Key words: causation, causativity, causative verb, causative opposition, morphological causative verb, syntactic causative expression, labile causative opposition, Old English

Abstrakt

Tato práce podává přehledové pojednání o kauzativitě – její definici, klasifikaci a popis charakteristických rysů – a to s přihlédnutím k typologické perspektivě. Načrtává vývoj kauzativity v angličtině, a to od indoevropštiny po moderní angličtinu s hlavním důrazem na staroanglické období a na faktory, které vedly ke stavu morfologických kauzativních sloves v té době. V praktické části se zabývá možnou konkurencí morfologických a syntaktických kauzativních sloves a jejími dalšími následky s přihlédnutím k popsané typologii.

Klíčová slova: kauzace, kauzativita, kauzativní sloveso, kauzativní opozice, morfologické kauzativní sloveso, syntaktický kauzativní výraz, labilní kauzativní opozice, stará angličtina

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Abbreviations

DOEC *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*

YOEC *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*

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1. Introduction

As the language is an arbitrary system of conveying meaning it can encode different aspects of reality. In various languages various aspects can be encoded in a systematic manner. The present work deals with causativity, being a linguistic equivalent of extralinguistic causation, and ways this concept can be expressed in English, with the main emphasis on the Old English period.

Remnants of the Old English system of causative verbs are still visible in Present Day English, although the system itself has restructured along the way of the development of the English language and according to its changing language type. Possibly, the other aspects of Present Day English system of expressing causativity originate in this period as well. They could also have been established as a dominant means for this grammatical feature already in Old English.

The present work aims at providing a comprehensive overview of causativity in a typological perspective and at inquiring into the possible competition between morphological and syntactic causatives and its future after-effects with respect to the described typology.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Causativity and Causation

To describe and define causativity¹ as a grammatical phenomenon, it is necessary to first describe the actual reality – the situation that speakers of a language can understand as a manifestation of causation. This manifestation can be subsequently encoded in a language by a lexical form, a morphological form or by a syntactic form that relies on the semantics of the words used.

The causative situation, that constitutes the basis for linguistic expressions of causativity, is defined by Shibatani (1976a) as a situation which consists of two events. There are two conditions that must be satisfied:

- a) The relation between two events is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of one event, the “caused event,” has been realized at t_2 [time], which is after t_1 [time], the time of the “causing event.”
- b) The relation between the causing and the caused event is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is wholly dependent on the occurrence of the causing event; the dependency of the two events here must be to the extent that it allows the speaker to entertain a counterfactual inference that the caused event would not have taken place at that particular time if the causing event had not taken place, provided that all else had remained the same. (Shibatani, 1976a: 1–2)

This definition explains why sentences like that in (1) are not considered to be instances of a syntactic causative (see section 2.2.), whereas sentences like that in (2) are.

(1) *I told John to go.*

(2) *I caused John to go.* (Shibatani, 1976a: 2)

¹ In the text causativity is used to refer to a linguistic phenomenon as opposed to causation which is used to refer to a situation in the extralinguistic reality.

The definition can be also elaborated so that it connects to the argument why some verbs are causative and some transitive² (see section 2.2.4.) (Shibatani, 1976a: 2). Although this description is an apt characterization of the nature of causation, it is based indisputably in its author's theoretical background of transformational grammar. This, beside others, shows in the relation to transitive verbs.

In a similar definition, Song (2005) specifies the nature of the caused event, so that it is an event in which “the causee carries out an action or undergoes a change of condition or state” (Song, 2005: 265). The state can be represented primarily by adjectives, which shows the connection of verbs derived from verbs and those derived from adjectives, forming a cline of causative expressions with causative and factitive verbs³ at respective ends.

The causative situation can be seen from two perspectives: one of the events and the other of participants. On the level of events, there are two types of causation: direct and indirect. The distinction is based on the temporal distance between the causing and the caused event. In direct causation, the two events directly follow one another without any intervening event. In indirect causation, there is an intervening event between the causing and the caused event. The temporal distance between them must be great enough so that it is possible to conceptually divide the two, which is not necessarily the case with direct causation. Moreover, the intervening event contributes to the realization of the caused event (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky, 1973: 10–11; Song, 2005: 266). On the level of participants, there are two types of causation: manipulative and directive. The difference depends on how “the causer effects the caused event” (Shibatani, 1976a: 31). In manipulative causation, the causee, the agent of the caused event, is a non-volitional entity and the causer, the agent of the causing event, must manipulate it physically. In directive causation, the causee is a volitional

² The relationship between transitive and causative verbs is viewed differently in various grammatical approaches, discussed in section 2.2.4.

³ The term factitive verb is used for verbs that can be interpreted as ‘to cause X to have the quality denoted by the adjective / to be the adjective’.

entity and the causer is giving it directions (Shibatani, 1976a: 31–32; Song, 2005: 266–267). In later works on causativity, Shibatani (2002a) sees these two perspectives as inseparable, forming a spatiotemporal feature, which distinguishes direct/manipulative and indirect/directive causation (Shibatani, 2002a: 14; see also section 2.3.4.).

2.2. Definition and Classification of Causative Expressions

Depending on a grammatical theory, there are diverse attitudes to causative expressions and their classification. Each of these is focusing on a different aspect in their description. Thus there can be several descriptions of one pair of causative and non-causative expressions, as in (3) where the causative expression can be related to a semantic base, that represents a state in this case (see section 2.2.3.), or it can be related to a derived verb, although it is represented here by an anticausative construction (see section 2.2.1.).

- (3) Czech *otevřít* ‘to open something, to cause something to be open / to open’
> *být otevřený* ‘to be open’
> *otevřít se* ‘to open, to become open’

In a narrow sense, causative expressions could be characterized as verbs in a derivational relation to other, non-causative verbs. From a formal point of view, there are three types of causative expressions:

- a) analytic / syntactic
- b) morphological
- c) lexical

These types correspond to prevalent word-formation strategies of a language (Comrie, 1989: 166; Song, 2005: 265). In a broader sense, causative expressions are characterized semantically. They express an agent’s activity that causes mutation (see section 2.2.3.).

2.2.1. Directed and Non-directed Opposition

The relationship between a causative and a non-causative verb can be seen as an opposition. There are two types of the opposition: directed and non-directed.

The pair of a causative and a non-causative verb that are derived from each other constitutes the directed (also derivational) opposition. There are several subtypes that belong to this category (García García, 2012a: 125; Nedyalkov and Silnitsky, 1973: 2):⁴

a) Causative oppositions

A causative verb is derived from a non-causative by means of affixation or introflection.

This subtype corresponds to the definition of causative verbs by Dušková (1954), which states that causative verbs are derived from non-causative verbs. The definition is further specified, stating that they are transitive verbs as there is an implied participant in their valency that is affected by the denoted action (see also section 2.2.4.). Thus causative verbs can be defined on the basis of two conditions. Firstly, there is a corresponding non-causative verb in the language, or possibly the verbs can be identical. Secondly, there is the possibility to interpret the object of the causative verb as the subject of the related non-causative verb, i.e. ‘to cause X to do something = X does something’ (Dušková, 1954: 37–38), as in (4) and (5).

(4) Old English *feallan* ‘to fall’ > *fyllan* ‘to fell, to cause something to fall’

(5) Finnish *nauraa* ‘to laugh’ > *naurattaa* ‘to make somebody laugh, to cause somebody to laugh’⁵

⁴ The following list of directed oppositions (a–c) is based on García García (2012) and provides a comprehensive overview of the classification by Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973) and expansions of the model by Comrie (1989) and Dixon (2000). Commentaries are based on other authors.

⁵ Dušková (1954) gives as an example verbs like *fell* – *fall* and *sink (something)* – *sink* (Dušková, 1954: 37) but these are classified under different subtypes in this enumeration (see section 2.2.1.: non-directed opposition: correlative and labile).

Both conditions have to be satisfied to assign the causative status to a verb (Dušková, 1954: 37). Whether the object that is interpreted as the subject of the related non-causative verb is direct or indirect depends on the mechanisms of individual languages (see section 2.3.1.).

b) Periphrastic (analytic) causative oppositions

A verb which has a semantic component of ‘compelling somebody to do something’ can be used to form a construction with a non-causative verb.

The causativity in these cases can be considered a lexical phenomenon because it is implied in the meaning of verbs like *make* (Dušková, 1954: 39).

c) Anticausative oppositions

A non-causative verb is derived by means of affixation, introflexion and periphrasis from a causative one, which is expressed by lexical means.

The periphrasis can use a causative auxiliary, as in (6), or a reflexive pronoun as an anticausative particle, as in (7) (García García, 2012a: 125).

(6) English *get lost* < *lose* ‘to cause something to get lost’

(7) Czech *rozbít se* ‘to break’ < *rozbít* ‘to break something, to cause something to break’

The anticausative opposition is much more common in Indo-European languages than the causative one (Haspelmath, 2002: 216).

The pair of a causative and a non-causative verb that are not overtly derived from each other constitutes the non-directed opposition. The causative verbs of this type of opposition correspond to lexical causatives (see section 2.2.). There are several

subtypes that belong to this category (García García, 2012a: 125–126; Nedyalkov and Silnitsky, 1973: 2–4):⁶

a) Labile (ambitransitive, conversive) oppositions

A causative and a non-causative sense is expressed by the same verb.

This subtype also corresponds to the definition of causative verbs by Dušková (1954) as the first condition for defining causatives allows not only derived verbs but also verbs that are identical.

b) Correlative (equipolent) oppositions

A causative and a non-causative verb differ in a part of stem.

Although the variation, as in (8), may originate in a diachronic pair which is derived and for that would be eligible to be a member of the group ‘Causative oppositions’, vowel variation is not productive derivational process in English anymore and the verbs can be considered not to be derived from each other (García García, 2012a: 126).

(8) English *fall* – *fell* ‘make something fall’

c) Suppletive oppositions

Two different, unrelated verbs are in a causative–non-causative relation.

However, the subtype can be problematic because some pairs, e.g. (9), could be analyzed by some theories as not forming a causative opposition (see discussion in Shibatani, 1976a: 14–27).

(9) English *die* – *kill* ‘to cause somebody to die’

⁶ The following list of non-directed oppositions (a–c) is based on García García (2012) and provides a comprehensive overview of the classification by Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973) and expansions of the model by Comrie (1989) and Dixon (2000). Commentaries are based on other authors.

2.2.2. Productive and Lexical Causatives

In transformational grammar, two forms of causative expressions are distinguished:

- a) productive causatives – morphologically regular, productive forms
- b) lexical causatives – morphologically irregular, non-productive forms (Shibatani, 1976a: 2–3)

By morphologically regular it is meant that there is either an affix or a causative auxiliary, such as English *cause*. This means that both morphological and syntactic causatives are considered to be productive causatives. The choice between the two is determined to a large extent by the language type. Lexical causatives are listed in the lexicon, whereas productive ones are not and are subjected to derivation via syntactic processes, in the sense of the transformational grammar⁷ (Shibatani, 1976a: 3).

Productive causatives correspond approximately to directed causative oppositions and lexical causatives to non-directed causative oppositions (see section 2.2.1).

2.2.3. Mutations and External Causatives

In contrast to the aforementioned narrow sense definition, characterizing causatives on formal and derivational basis, verbs that do not have a non-causative counterpart can also be defined as causatives. This definition is based on a semantic approach that classifies predicates according to sentence types reflecting various highly abstract microsituations (Grepl and Karlík, 1998: 32).

The basic types of predicates are states and simple processes. A crucial feature of the classification is the presence of a change in the semantic structure of the predicate, where a change is understood as a transition from one situation (a state or a process) to another. This feature distinguishes non-mutations and mutations and can combine

⁷ The productivity in this sense does not stress the quantity of a derivational means, but it rather implies the cognitive possibility of forming an expression by use of patterns, in contrast to stored lexical units.

with both states and simple processes. Mutations can be simple or active, depending on the presence of an external agent. Active mutations have an external agent that causes the mutation and are called external causatives (Grepš and Karlík, 1998: 32–36, for a overview of the types of predicates based on Czech see Table 1).

	non-mutations	mutations	
		simple	active
states	<i>být slepý</i> ‘to be blind’	<i>oslepnout</i> ‘to become blind’ (not to be blind > to be blind)	<i>oslepit</i> ‘to cause somebody to be blind’ (to cause (not to be blind > to be blind))
processes	<i>spát</i> ‘to sleep’	<i>usnout</i> ‘to fall asleep’ (not to sleep > to sleep)	<i>uspat</i> ‘to cause somebody to sleep’ (to cause (not to sleep > to sleep))

Table 1. Classification of predicates

In this conception, it is possible to observe a connection between causatives and adjectives,⁸ as these very often represent the basis of a state predicate. Thus some verbs can be interpreted as ‘to cause X to have the quality denoted by the adjective / to be the adjective’, as in (10).

(10) Czech *suchý* ‘dry’ > *sušit* ‘to cause something to be dry’

⁸ Active mutations are based not only on adjectives but also on verbs and nouns and they do not have to be only morphological but can also be syntactic and lexical, so that there is no overtly marked relation in the verbal form itself, as in *být* ‘to be’ – *narodit se* ‘to be born’ – *porodit* ‘to give birth’ and *být generálem* ‘to be a general’ – *stát se generálem* ‘to become a general’ – *povýšit na generála* ‘to promote to a general’.

As this classification is based on Charles Fillmore's Case Grammar, similar accounts can be found in different grammar theories, among them in generative semantics. Here, causative expressions can be decomposed to underlying representations with individual predicates that can be seen as semantic primitives, as in Figure 1. There are several transformations that account for the match between the underlying and the surface structure (Shibatani, 1976a: 5–6).⁹

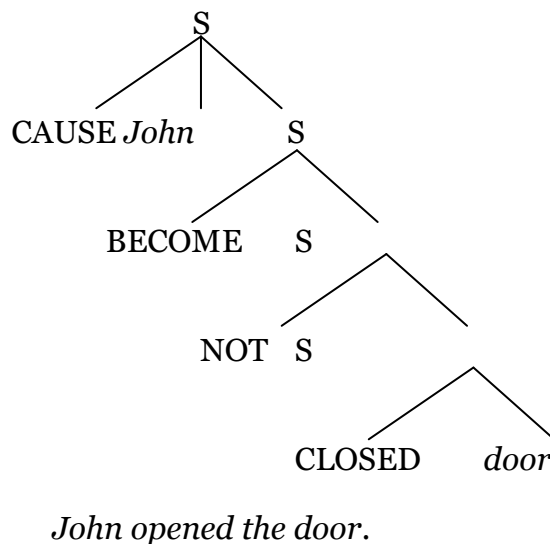


Figure 1. Underlying structure of a causative expression
(Shibatani, 1976a: 5)

2.2.4. Causative and Transitive Verbs

Although the causative verbs are treated mostly as a subtype of transitive verbs (Dušková, 1954; Comrie, 1974; García García, 2012a), in transformational grammar they are viewed as two separate and complementary entities. From the definition of the causative situation in section 2.1., it is evident that the caused event must take place. If not, the verb expressing the situation is not causative but transitive as it only affects the object but does not provoke a new action, which, furthermore, should be

⁹ This decomposition was, at times, seen as problematic in the case of lexical causatives (see discussion on *kill* and *cause to die* in Shibatani, 1976a: 14–27).

completed. This difference between proposed verb classes¹⁰ can be illustrated on (11) and (12) (Shibatani, 1976a: 2).

(11) *John kicked the ice but nothing happened to it.*

(12) **John melted the ice but nothing happened to it.*¹¹ (Shibatani, 1976a: 2)

Otherwise, causativity is considered to be a valency-changing operation, adding an agent to the valency of the base verb. As there is a new element in the verb valency, the verb itself must be transitive (see also section 2.3.1.). From this it follows that all causative verbs are transitive verbs, but not all transitive verbs are causative verbs (García García, 2012a: 124).

2.3. Characteristics of Causative Expressions

2.3.1. The Paradigm Case

Among characterizations that define causative verbs there is the question of how the second subject, i.e. the subject of the caused event, shows in the actual realization of the verb.

As a non-causative verb has n arguments in its valency, there are $n+1$ arguments in the valency of its causative counterpart, because there is another agent – the entity which causes the original agent to perform the action. Comrie (1974) claims that a limited number of elements can be taken into the valency of a verb. These are a subject (Subj), a direct object (DO), an indirect object (IO) and an oblique (Obl).¹² Languages usually impose restriction on the number of subjects, direct and indirect objects as there can be normally one of each for a verb. The number of oblique

¹⁰ Interestingly, although Shibatani (1976a) describes this categorization, he tends to use a traditional description of “transitive causative” in his presentation. In his later work (Shibatani, 2002a, Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2002), he discusses them as transitive verbs.

¹¹ Asterisk in sections 2.1.–2.3. means a wrong or unacceptable form, whereas in section 2.4., it marks a reconstructed form.

¹² An oblique is an element of an adverbial nature.

elements is not restricted (Comrie, 1974: 2–3). Because a causative verb is derived from a non-causative, there is an increase in the valency of a causative verb and this, “together with restrictions on the number of noun phrases that may occupy a given syntactic position, leads to a conflict” (Comrie, 1974: 3). It is the way that causative verbs resolve this conflict that differentiates them as a subtype of transitive verbs in respective languages.

The combination of certain features, the so called paradigm case, characterizes an ideal concept of a causative verb,¹³ in respect to the syntactic expression of the causee. There are exceptions to these features; however, as languages tend to deviate from only one of them, and sometimes only in specific cases (Comrie, 1974: 8; see also Comrie, 1976). The features are:

- a) Doubling on the syntactic positions Subject, Direct object, and Indirect object is excluded, i.e. no simplex sentence, whether or not causative, may have more than one each of Subj, DO, and IO. There is no similar restriction on the occurrence of other oblique constituents. Exceptions to this will be referred to as ‘syntactic doubling’.
- b) Where the restriction on doubling requires one of the arguments of the causative verb to be demoted to a different syntactic position, it is always embedded subject (ES)¹⁴ that is demoted.
- c) ES is always demoted to the next available position down the Hierarchy [Case Hierarchy].¹⁵ Exceptions will be referred to as ‘extended demotion’.
- d) This demotion is possible right down to the stage of other oblique constituents, i.e. there is no restriction on the possibility of a verb having a causative simply

¹³ As a model for this “ideal” concept Comrie uses Turkish, because it has productive formation of causatives. Suffixes *-dir*, *-ir*, *-t* are used to form a causative and the formation can be to some extent iterative, e.g. *öl* ‘die’ > *öl-dür* ‘cause to die, kill’ > *öl-dür-t* ‘cause to kill’ (Comrie, 1974: 5).

¹⁴ An embedded subject represents the causee.

¹⁵ Case Hierarchy (also called Accessibility Hierarchy) is a list of syntactic positions that are arranged according to their accessibility. The relevant part for causatives is: Subj – DO – IO – Obl. The higher in the hierarchy the more probable it is that the position will be used (Comrie, 1974: 3–4).

because the valency of the noncausative verb would force ES to be demoted right to the bottom of the Hierarchy. Exceptions will be referred to as ‘causative blockage’. (Comrie, 1974: 8)

2.3.1.1. Causative Blockage

Although the position Obl should be always available for the embedded subject, as the number of obliques in a valency of a verb is not restricted, some languages have constraints in this respect, not allowing the embedded subject to demote down the whole scale. They specify how many positions of the Hierarchy are available for the increased number of valency elements when deriving causatives, whether both the direct and the indirect object position or only the one of a direct object.

The case when only the position of a direct object is permitted leads to a state when causative verbs can be formed only from intransitive verbs, leading to a formation of transitive–intransitive pairs, such as in (13).

(13) Latin *fugere* ‘to flee’ – *fugāre* ‘to put somebody to flight’ (Comrie, 1974: 11)

2.3.2. Lexicalization and Morphological Means of Expressing Causativity

There are several issues connected to the presence of causative expressions in a language. Shibatani (2002a) concerns himself mainly with the nature of lexical causatives, which leads him to these questions:

- a) What kind of causative event is likely to be lexicalized as an atomic unit?
- b) What event types are likely to be morphologically causativized?
- c) What kind of situation resists lexicalization and morphological causativization in general?
- d) How are causative verbs related to other types of verbs semantically and morphologically? (Shibatani, 2002a: 2–4)

To some extent, these questions can be answered by considering derivational relationship between other types of verbs¹⁶ and causative verbs, mainly by the direction of the derivation. In the case that there is the anticausative derivation in a language, there must exist lexical causative verbs, as they are the starting point of the derivation (Shibatani, 2002a: 2). The other way round is less predictive: in the case that there is causative derivation in a language, lexical causative verbs tend not to be present. However, some languages allow both directions (Shibatani, 2002a: 2).

Lexical causatives are more likely in connection with events that include an outside force that brings about the event, e.g. events of ‘splitting’, ‘closing’ and ‘breaking’. On the other hand, if there is no outside force, e.g. ‘boiling’, ‘freezing’ and ‘waking up’, it is more likely that a causative verb is derived by morphological means (Haspelmath, 1993, cited in Shibatani, 2002a: 2). However, cross-linguistically there are inchoative–causative pairs that are expressed by a labile or a correlative form, although according to the previous statement there should be a morphologically derived causative verb (see section 2.2.1.: non-directed opposition). Thus causative expressions related to spontaneous events can be said to be both lexicalized¹⁷ and derived by morphological means (Shibatani, 2002a: 2–3). From this follows that if there are labile causative forms in a language, they are “likely to cover the domain of spontaneous events” (Shibatani, 2002a: 3).

Compared to Comrie’s Paradigm Case (see section 2.3.1.), Shibatani (2002a) is not concerned with the syntactic role of the causee but with its semantic role. Lexicalized causative verbs do not usually represent an event with two agentive roles, as the causee is usually a patient, as in (14) and (15) (Shibatani, 2002a: 3).

¹⁶ Various authors were concerned mainly with the relationship between inchoative expressions and causative verbs (Shibatani, 2002a:2).

¹⁷ However, the examples given for English, *boil*, *freeze*, *dry*, *sink*, were not always labile; at least a part of these verbs originally belonged to morphological causatives in some historical stages of the language development.

- (14) *somebody* (= a patient undergoer) *dies* – *somebody* (= agent 1) *kills somebody* (= a patient undergoer)
- (15) *somebody* (= agent) *reads something* – *somebody* (= agent 1) **make-read somebody* (= agent 2)

The description of morphological causative verbs is also semantic. For these verbs, it is more suitable to consider classification of events expressed by a verb. Causative affixes are more productive with intransitive verbs than with transitive verbs (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky, 1973: 7; see also 2.3.1.1.). When a finer verb classification is applied, there are four verbal types which are eligible for causative conversion:

- a) inactive intransitives¹⁸
- b) middle/ingestive¹⁹ verbs
- c) active intransitives
- d) transitive verbs (Shibatani, 2002a: 6)

If a language allows morphological causativization on one level, it allows this causativization also on the previous levels (Shibatani, 2002a: 5–6). Inactive intransitive verbs seem to be the easier to be turned into causative verbs, as there is an empty slot in the argument structure of the verb that can be filled with an agent element (Shibatani, 2002a: 6). These types can also be seen as a scale reflecting “the degree of difficulty in bringing about a causative situation” (Shibatani, 2002a: 7; see also 2.3.4.).

¹⁸ Also non-agentive intransitive verbs. The subject of these verbs is not an agent. Non-agentive intransitive verbs and their causative counterpart represent inchoative–causative alternations

¹⁹ Ingestive verbs are verbs of food consumption and information acquisition such as ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing/learning’. Middle verbs are verbs that convey situations in which an agent affects itself. They can be both intransitive and transitive.

2.3.3. Synonymy of Causative Expressions

Lexical and productive causatives (see section 2.2.2.) could be considered to be synonymous, however when tested for synonymy, the relationship between them is asymmetrical.²⁰ There can be two types of this asymmetrical relationship, depending on (a) whether the form expresses a general causative situation or a specific one and (b) on what forms are being considered – one specific and one general, as in (17), or two specific, as in (18). Whether a situation expressed is general or specific depends on individual expressions (Shibatani, 1976a: 29–30). The relationships from (16) and (17) can be represented schematically, as in Figure 2.

- (16) *I didn't stand the child up, but I caused him to stand up. – *I didn't cause the child to stand up, but I stood him up.*
- (17) *I didn't stand the child up, but I had/made him stand up. – I didn't have/make the child stand up, but I stood him up.* (Shibatani, 1976a: 29–30)

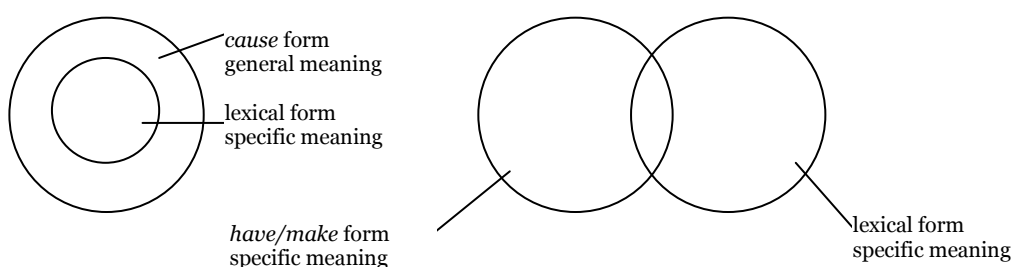


Figure 2. General and specific causative situation and two specific causative situations (Shibatani, 1976a: 29–30)

²⁰ The test is the same as that used for testing synonymy of active and passive sentences, where the two sentences, each with an expression that should be synonymous, are connected with *but*, one sentence is affirmative, the other negative. If the expressions are synonymous, then the compound sentence involves contradiction. However, with some causative expressions the contradiction appears only in one of the two compound sentences (Shibatani, 1976a: 28–29).

The meaning difference that shows in the non-overlapping domains can be attributed to the manipulative–directive nature of causative situation that the forms render (see section 2.1.). Lexical causatives tend to express manipulative causation and productive ones directive (Shibatani, 1976a: 31–32).

2.3.4. Iconicity and Causative Continuum

As suggested by the issue of asymmetrical relation mentioned in section 2.3.3., the formal build-up of a causative expression can be seen as an example of language iconicity (Song, 2005: 267). In Figure 3, there is a continuum showing the formal fusion of the two predicates, of the cause and the effect. The direct/manipulative causation tends to map on the left end of the continuum, whereas the indirect/directive causation on the right. Thus the spatiotemporal distance between the two events (see section 2.1.) is represented iconically by the degree of the structural fusion of the two predicates.

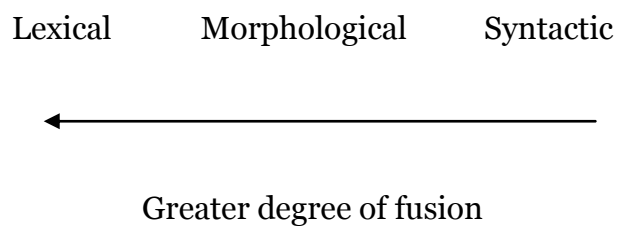


Figure 3. Continuum of formal fusion
(Song, 2005: 267)

Combined with the scale from section 2.3.2., which shows the semantic types of verbs that are eligible as a source for morphological causatives, this iconic correlation can also be formulated as representing:

the difficulty in bringing about the caused event, and this is formally represented by the transparency of the causative formative, such that the more difficult it is to bring about the caused event, the more transparently²¹ the causative meaning is expressed (Shibatani, 2002a: 8–9; see also Song, 2005: 267).

Another possible reformulation of the basic semantic mapping onto the aforementioned formal cline is that it also correlates with “the strength of control on the part of the causer and the counteracting causee autonomy” (Givón 1980, cited in Shibatani, 2002a: 16; also Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2002).²²

2.4. Causativity in English

2.4.1. Pre-Germanic and Common Germanic

In Indo-European, there were verbs which were derived regularly by a suffix **-éye/o-* and for which a causative and iterative/intensive meaning is reconstructed. This suffix was added to verbal stems with ablaut²³ *o*-grade, which represented perfective aspect (Ringe, 2006: 176).

In Proto-Germanic causative verbs represented a productive group (Ringe, 2006: 252). The suffix that was used to derive these verbs should have yielded **-ija-* but it

²¹ Shibatani makes distinction within morphological causatives, taking into account productive morphological causatives and irregular forms (Shibatani, 2002a: 8).

²² On the basis of this correlation, Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) refine the distinction of direct–indirect causation, adding an intermediate stage, sociative causation, which has three subtypes and represents both the degree of the causer’s dominance and, conversely, of the causee’s autonomy.

²³ Ablaut is an alternation in a root vocalism. In Indo-European it was connected with moveable accent. There were five grades, according to the vowel: *e*-grade, *o*-grade, *ē*-grade, *ō*-grade and zero-grade, each of which were connected with different morphological environment. This property was used both in inflection and derivation (Bammesberger, 1992: 45–46; see also Ringe, 2002).

had undergone the effects of Siever's Law,²⁴ thus creating two allophonic variants **-ija-* and **-ja-* (Ringe, 2006: 176). The suffix was added to the past singular grade, the former Indo-European *o*-grade, of strong verbs (Lass, 1994: 71). However, this can also be seen as a word-formation by means of ablaut, when the derived form was marked by an *o*-grade root (in addition to a new set of inflectional suffixes that were indicative of a new verbal paradigm). As the derivational ablaut series was identical with inflectional ablaut, "it appears as though PGmc causatives are formed from the indic. sg. past stem" (Ringe, 2006: 230).

As mentioned, these verbs were of a productive derivational pattern and the derived verbs constituted, with others, the first class of weak verbs. The numbers of causative verbs of the first weak class that can be reconstructed securely for Proto-Germanic vary. A cautious estimate is "more than two dozen" (Ringe, 2006: 252), whereas other authors are more ample in this respect – the number can go up to 185 (Seebold, 1970, cited in García García, 2012a: 126).

However, in this period every deverbal verb of the first weak class was potentially both causative and iterative/intensive, as this polysemy had been inherited from Indo-European (García García, 2012a: 127). There are verbs reconstructed for Proto-Germanic that seem to "differ little in meaning from the basic verbs" (Ringe, 2006: 253). Moreover, the system was complicated by a merger of the aforementioned suffix and the denominal and deadjectival verbal suffix, descending from Indo-European suffix **-e-yé/ó-* (Ringe, 2006: 176). As García García (2012a) shows these denominal verbs could have been formed from the same ablaut grade as the deverbal ones and thus were formally indistinguishable, as exemplified in (18)–(20) (see also Ringe, 2006: 254).

²⁴ This sound change operated as follows: "If a nonsyllabic sonorant was immediately preceded by two or more nonsyllabics, or by a long vowel and a nonsyllabic, it was replaced by the corresponding syllabic sonorant" (Ringe, 2002:16).

(18) Germanic **hnaigw-ija-*

> Old English *hnǣgan* ‘to cause someone to bow, bring low, humble, humiliate’

(19) << Germanic **hneigwa-* (p. **hnaigwa-*)

> Old English *hnīgan* (p. *hnāg*) ‘bend, bow down, incline, descend, decline’

(20) << Germanic **hnaigwa-*

> Old English *hnāg* ‘bent down, low, lowly, humble, abject, mean, poor’

(García García, 2012a: 127)

In addition to deverbal and denominal/deadjectival verbs there were also formations without any *i*-linking vowel and thus were recognizable by the lack of umlaut²⁵ in the past and past participle forms (Lass, 1994: 167; Ringe, 2006: 252).

For some verbs the etymology is unclear even for this period and it is not possible to state whether they were derived as causative verbs or not. This indeterminacy is caused mainly by the scarcity of textual evidence and limited corpora of daughter languages from the early stages of their development (García García, 2012a: 127). Moreover, even though it is possible to reconstruct some possible derivational pairs, their meaning is so changed,²⁶ that it is not possible to consider them to be a non-causative–causative pair (García García, 2012a: 127; see also Haspelmath, 2002: 73–74).

Although causatives verbs are described as a productive class, there were strict productivity limitations as the base verbs belonged to a closed word class of strong verbs (García García, 2012a: 128). The strong verbs that could serve as a base for a

²⁵ The result of a sound change called umlaut, *i*-mutation. Vowels harmonised to following *i* or *j* and as a result of this all back vowels were fronted, at first, to a round variant. Later they unrounded (Hogg, 1992a: 113).

²⁶ The derivational meaning, i.e. the sum of meanings of the two constituent morphemes, does not necessarily have to be identical with the meaning of the word.

causative pair can be classified into types by examining their semantic and syntactic properties. García García (2012a) introduces four types:²⁷

- I. non-agentive intransitive verbs – the causative pair forms an inchoative/causative alternation
 - a. changes of state or position: Germanic **brenna-* ‘burn (intrans.)’ > causative **branniġa-* ‘burn (trans.)’
 - b. going-ons: Germanic **dreupa-* ‘drip’ > causative **draupija-* ‘let drop’
 - c. psychological states: Germanic **kwela-* ‘suffer; die’ > causative **kwalja-* ‘make suffer, torture; kill’
 - d. verbs of emission (light, sound, smell, substance emission): Germanic **skella-* ‘sound’ > causative **skallija-* ‘make sound’
- II. middle verbs – these verbs can be both transitive and intransitive and express an action that affects agents themselves
 - a. verbs of position: Germanic **leg-* ‘lie’ > causative **lagja-* ‘lay’
 - b. verbs of apparel: Indo-European **ues-* ‘wear’ > Germanic causative **wazja-* ‘clothe; wear’
- III. ingestive verbs – there is a semantic feature of ‘taking something into the body or mind’
 - a. verbs of ingestion: Germanic **drenka-* ‘drink’ > causative **drankija-* ‘give drink’
 - b. verbs of cognition: Germanic **kann* ‘knows, can’ > causative **kanniġa-* ‘make known’
- IV. agentative intransitives – the subject of these verbs is an agent (cf. type I)
 - a. verbs of locomotion: Germanic **fara-* ‘go’ > causative **fōriġa-* ‘lead’
 - b. verbs of expression: Germanic **græta-* ‘cry’ > causative **grōtiġa-* ‘cause to cry’ (García García, 2012a: 129–130)

²⁷ This classification was based on secure examples of causative verbs from Gothic, Old English and some secure examples from other Germanic languages (García García, 2012a: 128).

The four main types are “to be understood as productivity constraints, in such a way that no causatives are formed to bases that fall outside those types in Germanic” (García García, 2012a: 128). Moreover, these types correspond to the first three stages of the continuum by Shibatani (2002a) (García García, 2012a: 130; see section 2.3.2.).

García García (2012a) considers this classification instrumental in distinguishing between possible causative and iterative/intensive meaning of *jan*-verbs, as verbs representing a base for iterative/intensive derivations would not be included in this classification.²⁸ Similarly, it can be used in the case of uncertain causative verbs with no base verb. If the hypothetical base were a member of one of these types, the potential causative verb could be assumed to have been derived as causative (García García, 2012a: 130–131).

2.4.2. Old English

The situation in Old English was similar to that in Proto-Germanic. Its daughter language had inherited “the multiple polysemy and heterogeneity of *jan*-formations” (García García, 2012a: 123). Thus there were similarly formed verbs that cannot be understood as causative, especially in relation to their base verb. The ongoing process of semantic change had led to state when some of the causative verbs ceased to express their central meaning. Inevitably, there are instances that are disputed and different verbs are treated as causative by different sources. The number of causative verbs in Old English is estimated to be from about 30 to about 40, possibly 50, the number depending on the certainty with which the causative meaning is attributed to a verb (Bammesberger, 1965, cited in García García, 2012a: 123; Royster, 1922: 330). The issues causing the uncertainty are very alike those hindering the classification in Proto-Germanic, albeit they may be more complicated given subsequent semantic and sound changes.

²⁸ They belong to type d) transitive verbs in Shibatani’s continuum (see section 2.3.2.).

If taking in consideration only Old English, in isolation from other Germanic languages and not using the comparative method, some verbs could be considered causative, as they fall under the discussed category because of their formal build-up, but they might have not been seen as such, as there are no base verbs attested. However, this is only an assumption, as the base verbs could have existed and they are only not recorded in the limited extant material (García García, 2012a: 127). Another point is that even in the remaining causative pairs the relation between the two verbs had “already started to obscure” (García García, 2012a: 131).

2.4.2.1. Morphological Causatives

Originally, morphological causatives were marked by a derivational suffix, which can be also seen as a theme or at least containing a theme. However, on the way to Old English the derivational system of weak verbs had corroded and merged with the inflectional one and, in consequence of this, the morphematic structure of the words had become opaque (Lass, 1994: 200).

The *i/j*-element contained in the suffix had triggered several changes and in the Old English period these derived verbs were marked by a morphophonemic alternation in the stem, the so called umlaut (Lass, 1994: 70–71). However, some authors do not see this alternation as a constituting element and for example García García (2012a) claims that: “no systematic relationship holds between derived causatives and their bases in Old English” (García García, 2012a: 135; see also García García, 2012b).²⁹

An overview of possible vowel alternations between strong verbs and derived weak verbs is presented in Table 2. It can be noticed that the alternation was not always distinctive enough.

²⁹ Although Old English causative verbs usually showed some form of formal relationship to their base verbs, mostly it was not possible to ascertain the direction of the derivation from it and the causative opposition became obsolete “most probably through insufficient (and unsystematic) formal marking” (García García, 2012a: 135). The two forms split due to the opaque derivational relationship such as was the vowel alternation (García García, 2012a: 135).

class	vowel in infinitive (vowel in past sg.)	vowel in derived weak verb	example
I	ī (ā)	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>sīgan</i> ‘to sink’ > <i>sǣgan</i> ‘to cause to sink’
II	ēo (ēa) ū (ēa)	<i>ē</i>	<i>rēocan</i> ‘to smoke’ > <i>rēcan</i> ‘to smoke, fumigate’ <i>būgan</i> ‘to bend’ > <i>bīgan</i> ‘to bend’
III	e (æ) i (a) e (ēa) eo (ēa)	e/y	<i>swimman</i> ‘to swim’ > <i>swemman</i> ‘to make swim’ <i>belgan</i> ‘to swell with anger’ > <i>bylgan</i> ‘to anger, offend’ <i>steorfan</i> ‘to die’ > <i>astyrfan</i> ‘to cause to die, kill’
IV	e (æ)	e	<i>cwelan</i> ‘to die’ > <i>cwellan</i> ‘to kill’
V	e (æ) i (æ)	e	<i>swefan</i> ‘to sleep’ > <i>swebban</i> ‘to put sleep, kill’ <i>sittan</i> ‘to sit, be seated’ > <i>settan</i> ‘to set, place, put’
VI	æ (ō) a (ō)	e	<i>wacan</i> ‘to awake, to be born’ > <i>weccan</i> ‘to waken, arise’
VII	vary (ēo)	e/y	<i>feallan</i> ‘to fall’ > <i>fellan/fyllan</i> ‘to fell, to cause to fall’

Table 2. Vocalic alternations between strong verbs and derived weak verbs
(García García, 2012a; García García, 2012b; Hogg, 1992a; Wright, 1925)³⁰

³⁰ Variants in bold represent expected pattern, unobscured by other sound changes (Hogg, 1992: 152).

Some of these verbs were characterized also by gemination caused by *j*-element in verbs with originally short stem syllable. The gemination did not take place in 2nd and 3rd person singular of the present tense, singular of imperative and in the whole paradigm of the past tense (Wright, 1925: 258–260). However, gemination took place also within some of the strong verbs, e.g. *sittan* ‘to sit’.

Causative verbs were also subject to Verner’s Law,³¹ as they had originally stress placed on the suffix (Wright, 1925: 115). Thus there could be also a consonant variation within the pair: *f–v*, *þ–d*, *s–r*, *ø–g*, as in (21)–(24).

(21) *swefan* ‘sleep’ – *swebban* ‘put to sleep, kill’ (see below)

(22) *liþan* ‘go, sail’ – *lædan* ‘lead, take, carry, bring, produce’

(23) *ræran* ‘cause to rise, rear, raise’ – *risan* ‘rise; be fitting, becoming’

(24) *fleon* ‘flee’ – *flygan* ‘put to flight, disperse’

In Common Germanic *f* was in opposition to *β*,³² which later became to be pronounced as *v*. In the case it was followed by *j*-element, the resulting geminated consonant was *bb*, creating variants with alternation *f–v–bb* (Hogg, 1992a: 108–110), see for example weak verbs of third class.

Although it may seem that these variations and subsequent opacity of the relation between words containing them were another reason for loss of the causative pairs, it is also possible that they did not play such a crucial role as the same variations were to be found within the paradigm of the strong verbs. Obviously there could also have been a countertendency of preserving an unchanged stem in related words as in (25).

(25) *(ge)swefan* ‘put to sleep’ – *swefan* ‘sleep’

³¹ Unvoiced medial spirants became voiced when not preceded by a stressed syllable.

³² Voiced bilabial fricative.

In addition to most of the descriptions that mainly stress the differences between the two members of the causative opposition caused by gemination and usually do so only very superficially in connection with the two infinitives, the complexity of relationship between the whole paradigms seems to be neglected or is taken for granted.

Although some of the causative verbs were still identifiable as a member of a causative opposition, some of them had undergone semantic changes before Old English period and, thus, could be specialized in their meaning with respect to the base, as in (26). This specification could lead to semantic divergence between the causative verb and its base (García García, 2012a: 136).

- (26) Old English *bætan* ‘bridle and saddle; bait’, restricted to animals with respect to Old English *bītan* ‘bite’

Some of the causative verbs changed their valency, a process that had started in Common Germanic period, and took on an intransitive usage. As a similar development took place with some of the base verbs within the existing causative oppositions, i.e. an intransitive verb adding a transitive/causative usage,³³ the direct causative oppositions were gradually disappearing and were replaced by forms that were the basis of a subsequent labile opposition represented by a single verb (García García, 2012a: 137). According to García García, (2012a), these collapsing oppositions were quite abounding, especially in comparison with other Germanic languages. However, the frequencies of the collapsing and original meanings differed in respective non-causative–causative pairs (García García, 2012a: 137–138).

³³ This development is not identical with an intransitive verb becoming a transitive one. Adding an object into the valency does not necessarily mean that this object is to be interpreted as another agent.

2.4.2.2. Syntactic Causatives

The verbs that could be used to form syntactic causative constructions were *dōn* ‘to do, act; to do, perform; to make, cause; to put, bring’, *hātan* ‘to bid, order, command; to call, name, give a name to’, *lāetan* ‘to let, allow, permit; to let, cause, make, get, have, cause to be, place’, and also *macian* ‘to make, do, act’. Some authors see their usage as “narrowly restricted”, especially in the written language (Royster, 1922: 332). Generally, a verb of ‘ordering’ or ‘forcing’ could have been used in the sense of ‘causing’. These meanings, being closely related, were yet difficult to distinguish (Royster, 1918: 89–90, 92).

Of these verbs Royster (1922) comments on syntactic usage of *dōn*, *lāetan* and *macian*. The verb *dōn* in its causative use was followed either by a *þæt*-clause or an uninflected infinitive.³⁴ The former seems to have been more widespread. Both are to be found mainly in ecclesiastic works and translations from Latin, which could have played a role of a model³⁵ (Royster, 1922: 332, 342).

The verb *lāetan* was followed by an uninflected infinitive. In case of this verb it might not be always clear whether to assign meaning ‘cause’ or ‘allow’. Royster (1922) claims that, in its causative meaning, it is even scarcer than *dōn* – with exception of examples from texts of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, where it is frequent³⁶ (Royster, 1922: 351–353).

³⁴ It was also followed by a nominal object and an adjective and in fact expressed the factitive meaning (Royster, 1922: 335).

³⁵ Although this model could also have been ambiguous, as the causative construction with Latin *facere* ‘to do’ differed in its complementation in classical and medieval Latin (Royster, 1922: 333–334, 337–341).

³⁶ Royster (1922) infers from this that the construction was commoner and more frequent in colloquial unwritten language and that is why it was used to greater extent in Middle English. Although admitting it, he uses a similar argument from silence in case of *dón* (Royster, 1922: 342–345, 351–353)

In this period, a verb that was very scarce in a causative use is *macian*. It was followed by a *þæt*-clause, an object and object complement or an object and a to-prepositional phrase, not by an uninflected infinitive (Royster, 1922: 353–354).

2.4.3. Further Development – Middle English and Early Modern English

The further development of causative expressions is indicative of subsequent levelling of the verbal paradigms and loss of inflection by the growing numbers of labile causative oppositions. In addition, this type was enlarged by the inchoative–causative verbs derived from adjectives.

Also syntactic causatives show growth in numbers in comparison to the Old English period (Royster, 1918 and 1922). In the Middle English period, *dōn* ‘to do’ had been frequently used as a causative auxiliary with bare infinitive³⁷ before it specialized as an auxiliary (Royster, 1922: 342–350). Significant change occurred in the usage of *māken* ‘to make’ that has risen as a main causative auxiliary.

2.4.4. Present State

Although it could be said that in the Present Day English there are all three types of causative expressions: syntactic, morphological and lexical, a more widely accepted description classifies causatives into two types, syntactic and lexical.

Lexical causatives can be divided between correlative, suppletive and labile (see section 2.2.1). Correlative and labile ones originate in morphological causatives, the difference being whether the original non-causative–causative pair collapsed together or not. Intransitive verbs that have come to be used transitively are another source of labile causatives (Baron, 1974: 305–306). However, a great number of these verbs are

³⁷ Royster (1922) introduces as a factor stylistic differences between Old English and Middle English writing (Royster, 1922: 342–350).

factitive, i.e. derived from adjectives³⁸ (Baron, 1974: 306–307). In some cases a verb can be used in all three senses, i.e. as an intransitive verb, a transitive one and a causative one, as in (27)–(29).

(27) *he dances well*

(28) *he dances the waltz*

(29) *he dances the bear* (Dušková, 1954: 39).

As the form of an English verb itself does not express intransitivity–transitivity, it can be said to be neutral in this respect, transitivity and possible causativity is assigned to it in an actual usage in context, as in (30) and (31).³⁹

(30) *people fight cocks* ‘people make cocks fight’

(31) *boys fight other boys* (Stocker, 1990: 9)

Syntactic causatives use different causative auxiliaries as *cause*, *get*, *have*, *let*, *make* (Baron, 1974: 307; Dušková, 1954:39). There is a number of other verbs that express similar meaning, as *force*, *urge*, *compel*, *induce* etc., however, they are a borderline case because of the uncertain degree of the accomplishment of the action, see section 2.1: (1) and (2).

The central auxiliaries are *get*, *have* and *make*. They can be followed by several forms: infinitive, present participle, clause and others.⁴⁰ Not all combinations are grammatical and there is also dialectal and idiolectal variation (Baron, 1974: 308–309). The choice between these verbs is determined by syntactic and semantic

³⁸ In the case that causatives are defined on the semantic basis, factitive verbs are considered causative, as they express ‘to cause X to have the quality denoted by the adjective / to be the adjective’. There is an undoubted relation between the two groups of verbs, as they form a cline, see section 2.2.3.

³⁹ This has to take into account the possibility of interpreting the object as an embedded subject of the caused action (Dušková, 1954: 37).

⁴⁰ These are: noun, adjective, past participle and locative. This classification applies in approaches that derive from Fillmore and generative semantics where factitives are included in causatives, see section 2.2.3.

parameters of the action, e.g. structure of state, structure of agent etc., and also by properties of the expressions, e.g. the possibility to form a passive (Baron, 1974: 316–339; see also section 2.3.3.).

Syntactic type of causative expressions is mainly used to form a causative counterpart to transitive verbs (Dušková, 1954: 39; see also 2.3.1.1. and 2.3.2.)

3. Methodology

3.1. Hypothesis

As the inflectional as well as the derivational system of Old English were weakened and the relationships between words, previously signalled by various morphemes and/or allomorphy, were not always transparent, a similar state is to be found in the relation between causative weak verbs and their base strong verbs, as can be seen from the number of semantic shifts in causative verbs and collapsing causative oppositions. There were two possible strategies of coping with this obscured relationship: a) syntactic use of causative auxiliaries to express the causative meaning or b) not to compensate and let the meaning be context dependent.

In the following analysis, only causatives in the narrow sense, i.e. those in formal relation to a non-causative verb, are considered (see section 2.2. and 2.2.1.). In case that the language has all three types of formally defined causative expressions, syntactic means are used to form causatives from transitive verbs. If this type was gaining ground, it should have been able to combine with intransitive verbs, that otherwise had a morphologically formed causative counterpart, as well. Moreover, it would have combined with infinitives rather than with a clause. On the other hand, if the category was losing its formal distinctiveness without any substitution, the causative oppositions, that were still expressing causative meaning, would have been liable to be neutralized, both in their formal build-up and their valency.

To test these hypotheses a sample of morphological causative verbs will be analyzed in respect to changes in their valency and possible collapsing with the non-causative verbs. Also, their non-causative counterparts will be searched for within syntactic causative constructions and the occurrences will be analyzed according to the typologies presented in the previous chapter.

3.2. Sources and Tools

Excerptation was done in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Cameron, Crandell Amos and diPaolo Healey, 2011) and in *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor, Warner, Pintzuk and Beths, 2003), using the Czech National Corpus interface at www.korpus.cz. The first corpus has 4 208 415 positions. It consists of at least one copy of every surviving Old English text. It has been compiled as a part of the *Dictionary of Old English* project. This corpus is not tagged and lemmatized. The later has 1 640 228 positions. It is a syntactically-annotated corpus of Old English prose texts, which enables a search for grammatical forms.

Word forms provided by a Generator from *Morphological Analyzer of Old English* by Tichý (2014) were used as a basis for the excerptation.

3.3. Excerptation

For the first part of the excerptation, a list of causative verbs based on García García (2012a) was used (see Table 3). García García selected all possible Old English causative pairs,⁴¹ i.e. all deverbal verbs of the first weak class that had the required vowel alternations and all strong verbs that could serve as a base for the derived verbs and that fitted the four types discussed in section 2.4.1. She then classified them according to whether they expressed the causative meaning in Old English or not and to what degree and according to their syntactic behaviour (García García, 2012a: 131–133). From this classification, verbs that still had a causative meaning in Old English, with no specialised meaning compared to their base and not collapsing in meaning or in valency with their base were selected together with the base verbs. Moreover, the base verb had to exist in the Old English period. In total there were 31 pairs.

⁴¹ García García used Bammesberger (1965), Seebold (1970) and the *Nerthus* lexical database of Old English as primary sources (García García, 2012: 131).

The causative verbs were searched for in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC)*.

For these verbs, a list of possible forms⁴² was generated. Queries for the excerption were created, together with some further adjustments to the list: the vowel variation *i–y*, forms of *swebban* with *-f-* and forms of *lecgan* with *-g-*, forms without gemination in present tense.

causative verb	base verb	query
<i>ā-bylgan</i> 'anger, offend'	<i>belgan</i> 'swell with anger'	ab[yi]l.*
<i>cennan</i> 'make known, declare'	<i>cunnan</i> 'know, know how to, perceive'	cen[diostpðu][seospðt]?[tns]?t? cen[ae] [ðnsþð][eot]?[ns]?t? cenn ([æeou] [aed][nsþðe] [ae][ðns][tden]e?)
<i>cwellan</i> 'kill'	<i>cwelan</i> 'die'	cwea*[eo]*d.* cwell.? cwell[aeis][nsþðet][ntþð]?e?
<i>ā-cwencan</i> 'extinguish (fire, lamp); snuff out (a candle)'	<i>ā-cwincan</i> go out, extinguish (of fire, light)	acwen.*
<i>drencan</i> 'give drink to; drench, saturate'	<i>drincan</i> 'drink'	drenc([aeiostuæpð][nþðeto][nts][te]? [aeit][nþðe] [ostuæpð])
<i>ferian</i> 'carry. transport; lead'	<i>faran</i> 'go, travel'	ferg.* fer([ae].+ [oe]d.*) feri.+ ferhst fers fert ferxt fer(pð)
<i>flygan</i> 'put to flight, disperse'	<i>flēon</i> 'flee'	fl[yi]g.* fl[yi][hx]st
<i>fyllan</i> 'cause to fall, fell, kill'	<i>feallan</i> 'fall; stumble; occur; sink; die'	felle fella[pð]. fel([eapð][spð]t? [epð] [eo]d [eo]?d[oe]n)
<i>gremman</i> 'enrage'	<i>grimman</i> 'rage, vent fury'	grem.*

⁴² As the generator operates in an early phase of the *Morphological Analyzer*, the list represented basic expected forms and variation, especially in vowels, was not taken account of.

<i>ā-hryran</i> 'destroy, cause to fall'	<i>hrēosan</i> 'fall, fall down, go to ruin'	ahr[iy]r.*
<i>lædan</i> 'lead, take, carry, bring, produce'	<i>līpan</i> 'go, sail'	læd.* læst lætst lætt
<i>lecgan</i> 'cause to lie, lay; slay'	<i>licgan</i> 'lie, be at rest; lie dead'	lecg.* leg([ea][spð]t? [eo]?d.*)
<i>lītan</i> 'incline'	<i>lūtan</i> 'bow, bend forward, fall down'	l[iy]t l[iy]st l[iy]t([pðtusoed] [sieda][tepðsnd] [ied][sedo][tpðens] [eda][nde][noes][nest]t?)
<i>nerian</i> 'save'	<i>nesan</i> 'be saved from, escape from'	ner.*
<i>ræran</i> 'cause to rise, rear, raise'	<i>rīsan</i> 'rise; be fitting, becoming'	raer.*
<i>rēcan</i> 'smoke, fumigate'	<i>rēocan</i> 'reek, send forth smoke'	rec[ouae][nstpð]?[n]?e? reht[eo][sn]?t?
<i>sægan</i> 'cause to sink'	<i>sīgan</i> 'sink, descend, fall'	sæg.*
<i>sencan</i> 'sink, submerge, drown'	<i>sincan</i> 'sink'	senc.*
<i>sengan</i> 'singe, burn slightly; afflict'	<i>singan</i> 'sing'	seng.* senst sest
<i>settan</i> 'set, place, put; settle, subside'	<i>sittan</i> 'sit, be seated; occupy (a seat)'	set[^l].*
<i>slīpan</i> 'put, slip'	<i>slūpan</i> 'slip, glide'	sl[iy]p[ae][nstpð]?n?e? sl[iy]pt[eo]?[ns]?t?
<i>sprengan</i> 'scatter; burst; cause to spring'	<i>springan</i> 'spring, burst forth, grow, spread'	spreng.* sprenst sprencst
<i>stēpan</i> 'cause to take step'	<i>stēppan, steppan</i> 'step, go, proceed'	step step([eousæpð] [aeis][nspðet] [aei][oenspð][nts]e?) stept[eo]?[ns]?t?
<i>ā-styrfan</i> 'cause to die, kill'	<i>steorfan</i> 'die'	ast[yie]rf.*

<i>swebban</i> 'put to sleep, kill'	<i>swefan</i> 'sleep'	sweb.* swef([ea][sþð]?t? [eo]?d.*)
<i>be-swemman</i> 'make to swim'	<i>swimman</i> 'swim'	beswem.*
<i>swencan</i> 'cause a person to labour, harass, afflict'	<i>swincan</i> 'toil, labour, work with effort'	swenst swenc.*
<i>sȳcan</i> 'suckle, give suck'	<i>sūcan</i> 'suck'	s[iy]ct?([eosuæpð] [aeiso][nsþðet] [aei][nsi][ntðp]e?) s[iy]ht[eo][ns]?t?
<i>ā-prȳtan</i> 'weary, tire out'	<i>ā-prēotan</i> 'be wearisome, tedious, distasteful'	a[pð]r[iye?]e?t.*
<i>þwānan</i> 'reduce the size, cause to dwindle'	<i>þwīnan</i> 'get less, dwindle'	[pð]wæn.*
<i>wyrðan</i> 'injure, annoy; hinder'	<i>for-weorþan</i> 'perish, vanish; go off, spoil'	w[iy]rd.+

Table 3. Verbs and respective queries used for the excerption 1

Not all the queries yielded the intended verb forms only, due to homonymy of some forms, especially of the short ones ending in *-e* and *-es* with forms of nominal paradigms. In some cases, such query was rewritten intentionally so that it did not search for the forms that would be homonymous with nouns and other word classes with high frequencies, e.g. *fela*. Moreover, in some cases, it was not possible to distinguish between some of the forms of two verbs automatically, e.g. *sāegan* and *secgan*, *feran* and *ferian*, *fyllan* ('to fill' and 'to fell'). In the case of *fyllan*, the search was done only for the forms with *-e-* to avoid the forms with the meaning 'to fill'. Verb *sāegan* was discarded completely due to a high number of identical forms of verb *secgan*, thus leaving 30 pairs. For these reasons there are no frequencies given, because they would be misleading.

The results were shuffled automatically. First 30 results were taken and manually sorted and first 10 results containing the form of the causative verb searched for were used for further analysis. This, however, led to null results in case of some verbs, e.g. *fyllan*, as some queries were not sufficiently written to filter out other word classes. Latin texts included in the corpus represented another complication, as some Latin words fit the respective queries.

In the second round of excerption, verbs *hātan* ‘to bid, order, command; to call, name, give a name to’, *lātan* ‘to let, allow, permit; to let, cause, make, get, have, cause to be, place’ and *macian* ‘to make, do, act’, were searched for in *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YOEC)*, see Table 4. Verb *dōn* ‘to do, act; to do, perform; to make, cause; to put, bring’ was not used as its semantic and syntactic functions could be much more diverse. As the corpus is tagged, the search was specified for verbs only to eliminate homonyms from other word classes. Within the results of this search, non-finite forms of the strong non-causative verbs from Table 3 were searched for, within -5 and 5 position interval.

verb	query
<i>hātan</i>	word="het[eo]?n? hehte?n? hat[æaeioustþð]?[nspðt]?[dtenu]?e? hast hæt[eistþð]?[spðt]?[tu]? hæst" & tag="V.*"
<i>lātan</i>	word="leort[eo]n? leot let[eo]?n? læst læt[(ist)(ipð)ostæpð(st)(stu)]? læt[ea][nspð]?[tdne]?e?" & tag="V.*"
<i>macian</i>	word="mac[æoustþð]t? mac[ae][nspð][dnte]?e? maced[eo][ns]? maci[aæhnousþðx]?[nspðde]?[tne]?e? macig[aæestþðu]?[nspðt]?[dnet]?e? macige[aæeio]?[nspð]?net?e? macod[eo][ns]?t?" & tag="V.*"

Table 4. Verbs and respective queries used for the excerption 2

4. Research Part

4.1. Analysis of Data

The verbs used for excerption should in this period still have their non-causative counterpart and should express the causative meaning in relation to this non-causative verb. It is possible to classify these base verbs according to their semantics and probability that they will have a morphological causative counterpart (see section 2.3.2 and 2.4.1). For distribution of the 30 verbs analyzed in this classification see Table 5.

non-agentive intransitive verbs (19)	changes of state or position (10)	<i>ā-cwincan</i> ‘go out, extinguish, <i>feallan</i> ‘fall; stumble; occur; sink; die’, <i>hrēosan</i> ‘fall, fall down, go to ruin’, <i>lūtan</i> ‘bow, bend forward, fall down’, <i>nesan</i> ‘be saved from, escape from’, <i>rīsan</i> ‘rise; be fitting, becoming’, <i>sincan</i> ‘sink’, <i>slūpan</i> ‘slip, glide’, <i>þwīnan</i> ‘get less, dwindle’, <i>for-weorþan</i> ‘perish, vanish; go off, spoil’
	going-ons (1)	<i>springan</i> ‘spring, burst forth, grow, spread’
	psychological states (7)	<i>belgan</i> ‘swell with anger’, <i>cwelan</i> ‘die’, <i>grimman</i> ‘rage, vent fury’, <i>steorfan</i> ‘die’, <i>swefan</i> ‘sleep’, <i>swincan</i> ‘toil, labour, work with effort’, <i>ā-þrēotan</i> ‘be wearisome, tedious, distasteful’
	verbs of emission (1)	<i>rēocan</i> ‘reek, send forth smoke’
middle verbs (2)	verbs of position (2)	<i>licgan</i> ‘lie, be at rest; lie dead’, <i>sittan</i> ‘sit, be seated; occupy (a seat)’
ingestive verbs (3)	verbs of ingestion (2)	<i>drincan</i> ‘drink’, <i>sūcan</i> ‘suck’
	verbs of cognition (1)	<i>cunnan</i> ‘know, know how to, perceive’
agentative intransitives (6)	verbs of locomotion (5)	<i>faran</i> ‘go, travel’, <i>flēon</i> ‘flee’, <i>līþan</i> ‘go, sail’, <i>stāþpan</i> , <i>steþpan</i> ‘step, go, proceed’, <i>swimman</i> ‘swim’
	verbs of expression (1)	<i>singan</i> ‘sing’

Table 5. Distribution of verbs analyzed according to productivity constraints

It seems that most of the verbs, 19 out of 30, that are considered to have a morphological causative counterpart in Old English, are localized at one end of the scale of causative conversion (see sections 2.3.2. and 2.4.1.). This end represents the verbs that are most likely to be a base for a morphologically formed causative verb.

4.1.1. Excerpt 1

For the numbers of reluts yielded from *DOEC* by the first round of excerption see Table 6. Due to unsuitably written queries, these numbers are not comparable. For sentences analyzed see Appendix 1.

causative verb	number of results	causative verb	number of results
<i>ā-bylgan</i>	6	<i>sāegan</i>	0
<i>cennan</i>	6	<i>sencan</i>	2
<i>cwellan</i>	10	<i>sengan</i>	1
<i>ā-cwencan</i>	10	<i>settan</i>	10
<i>drencan</i>	10	<i>slýpan</i>	1
<i>ferian</i>	7	<i>sprengan</i>	10
<i>flýgan</i>	4	<i>stēpan</i>	8
<i>fyllan</i>	0	<i>ā-styrfan</i>	1
<i>gremman</i>	10	<i>swebban</i>	10
<i>ā-hrýran</i>	0	<i>be-swemman</i>	1
<i>lædan</i>	10	<i>swencan</i>	10
<i>lecgan</i>	10	<i>sīcan</i>	2
<i>litan</i>	0	<i>ā-þrýtan</i>	3
<i>nerian</i>	10	<i>þwānan</i>	5
<i>rāeran</i>	10	<i>wyrdan</i>	0
<i>rēcan</i>	0	Total	167

Table 6. Excerpt 1: Morphological causatives

4.1.2. Excerption 2

There were 2403 instances of verb *hātan* found in *YOEC*. Within these instances there were 34 combinations with an infinitive of one of the 30 non-causative verbs (see section 4.1.). However, 5 of these were across a clause boundary or their meaning was ‘to call’, thus the number of sentences analyzed is 29. There were no combinations with an inflected infinitive and present participle. There were 3 combinations with a form that would be analyzed without having the context as a past participle, 1 of which was across a clause boundary and thus discarded. In this case 1 occurrence was classified as an infinitive and one as a participle. For sentences analyzed see Appendix 2.

Only two verbs combining with verb *hātan* were found: *farān* (26 infinitives and 1 participle) and *sittan* (4 infinitives).

Out of 30 instances of the combination *hātan* and infinitive, there were 7 that included coordination of two infinitives.

In 8 cases the embedded subject is not expressed within the clause itself, but is retrievable from the previous context.

There were 695 instances of verb *lāetan* found in *YOEC*. Within these instances there were 54 combinations with one of the 30 non-causative verbs. However, 3 of these were across clause boundary, thus the number of sentences analyzed is 51. There were no combinations with a present participle. There were 2 instances of an inflected infinitive and 1 of a past participle, but these were all across sentence boundary and were discarded as such. For sentences analyzed see Appendix 3.

The verbs found in the combination with *lāetan* are: *farān* (23 infinitives), *rēocan* (12 infinitives), *sittan* (5 infinitives), *licgan* (4 infinitives), *drincan* (3 infinitives), *feallan*, *singan*, *ābrēotan* and *forweorþan* (all 1 infinitive).

There was only 1 instance of coordination of infinitives and 1 aposition of two infinitives.

In 16 cases the embedded subject is not expressed within the clause itself, but is retrievable from the previous context. However, this seems to be a text-specific feature as explained below.

There were 79 instances of verb *macian* found in *YOEC*. No combinations with one of the 30 non-causative strong verbs were found within these occurrence.

4.2. Discussion

4.2.1. Excerption 1

Some of the verbs yielded by the searched showed a change of valency in some of the occurrences. However, sometimes the object was not overtly expressed but was retrievable from the immediate context, i.e. within -20 to 20 positions interval.

Although the majority of cases that were searched through had an object, it was usually not relevant as the verbs are quite often polysemuous and the non-causative meaning was prevailing, as in (32).

(32) *cennan* ‘to beget, conceive, create, bring forth; to declare, make known’

In the case of *flȳgan*, the 3 of 4 occurrence could be interpreted also as forms of *flēon*, as in (33), similar situation occurred with *stēpan* and *swebban*.

(33) *hwi* ***flihst*** *pu þinne fæder ?*
‘why do you flee your father?’
‘why do you put your father to flight?’

As it seems not all verbs are precise causative counterparts of their base verbs. For example *sittan* combines with inanimate objects, whereas there is only one example (34) that can be rendered as ‘make X sit’ as well as ‘make X stay at certain position’

.

(34) *he þa him on bæc **sette***

‘he then made him sit / set him in books’

Similarly, verb *sprencan* ‘to scatter, cause to spring’ specialize in that sense that its object is usually liquid, thus specializing also in the meaning to ‘to sprinkle’. Interestingly, the object / embedded subject is not expressed and the position is occupied by the ‘target’ of sprinkling, as in (35). In case that the embedded subject is present together with ‘target’-object, it can be demoted to the position of an oblique, as in (36).

(35) *he nam þæt blod & **sprengcde** þæt folc*

‘he took that blood and sprinkled the people’

(36) ***sprenge** man **mid haligwætere***

‘sprinkle man with holy water’

Although, some of the causative verbs might seem to be collapsing with their non-causative base verb or to be specializing in their meaning, these are only tentative conclusions as the data is inconclusive.

4.2.1. Excerption 2

Verbs *hātan* and *lāetan* are primarily verbs of forcing, compelling and allowing. From this meaning a meaning of causing can be derived, especially if the object / embedded subject is an inanimate entity as it has no will and no control over the caused action (see section 2.1. and 2.3.4.). In the cases of verbs found in the corpus material all objects of *hātan* are animate, as in (37), whereas *lāetan* has both animate and inanimate objects, as in (38) and (39).

(37) *se halga wer ... **het** hine aweg **faran*** (A18)

‘the holy man bade/made him go away’

(38) *ic **let** hi frige **faran** gif hi woldon* (B2)

‘I would allow/make them go free if they wished to’

(39) ***læt reocan** þone bræð upon þone man* (B5)

‘allow/make that smell reek upon that man’

The animity of an object / embedded subject has a bearing on the character of possible causation. In the case of animate entity, which has its own will, these two verbs tend to express their primary meaning, i.e. a degree of compelling or permitting, but this does not secure that the action, desired by the subject, is accomplished as can be seen from (40), where the second clause states that the action intended by the subject indeed took place. However, the second clause could have expressed that the action had failed, as well, as in (41).

(40) *Pa **het** se cyning hie **sittan** & hie swa dydon* (A29)

‘then the king bade them sit and they did so’

(41) *He bade them sit but they did not / and they went away / ...*

The primary meaning of compelling does not by any means exclude the possibility that the action may be completed in (42).

(42) *ac Crist hi **het** **sittan** uppon þære eorðan* (A1)

‘but Christ bade them sit / made them sit / set them on the ground’

In the case of (40) the action is accomplished but if the verb *hātan* were to function as a mere causative auxiliary, the sentence would not make much sense. It would restate that the action took place although that is already a part of the meaning of the causative construction, as in (43).

(43) *Pa **het** se cyning hie **sittan** & hie swa dydon* (A29)

?’then the king made them sit / set them and they did so’

Example (44) can be seen as a borderline case where, although there is an animate entity *nytenum* ‘to animals’ that can be construed as an embedded subject, its volitionality may be disputable. This case is further complicated by the fact that the embedded subject is not overtly expressed as an object in this clause and it could also be construed as *men* ‘men’ and *nytenu* ‘animals’ together.

(44) *Menn he gehælde fram mislicum coðum and eac swilce nytenum læcedom forgeaf ahredde fram wodnysse. and **het** **faran** aweg to þære eowode þe hi of adwelodon* (A8)

‘He healed men from various sicknesses and he also gave medicine to animals, saved them from madness, and bade (them) go away to the herd from which they had strayed’

Whereas all instances of *hātan* have an animate object / embedded subject, in the case of *lāetan* the situation is more complex. There are 16 cases out of 51 of inanimate entity in this syntactic position and 11 of these are not overtly expressed, but are retrievable from the context, as in (45).

(45) *Mid þy þu þa saran stowa lange ærest beþe & læt reocan on* (B7)

with that you first warm those sore places for long and allow/make (**it = that = the medicine**) reek on

However, 12 of these 16 cases contain the combination of *reocan* and a medicine, although mostly unexpressed overtly. 14 out of the 16 cases are from a medical books, thus the text type might be an influencing factor here (see below).

The object / embedded subject being a volitional entity corresponds to the indirect/directive causation, i.e. a causee is given a direction, in the case of *lāetan* a permission. The cases of the primary meaning of the two verbs or their weakened meaning combining with a volitional causee (like in (40) and 42)) are also in accord with mapping of direct/manipulative and indirect/directive causation onto a formal cline, the syntactic forms corresponding with indirect/directive causation (see section 2.1. and 2.3.4.).

Another factor in interpreting *hātan* and *lāetan* as a part of a causative construction are the type and semantics of the verbs that combine with them. In the case of *hātan*, there are only two verbs from the analyzed non-causative–causative pairs that combined with it, *sittan* and *faran*. Both of these are to be found further to one side of the scale of productivity constraints (see section 2.3.2, 2.4.1 and 4.1.). This end of

the scale represents active intransitive verbs that are less likely to be a base for a morphologically formed causative verb. This can also be connected to the aforementioned animity and volition of the embedded subject.

Interestingly, verb *faran* exceeds *sittan* in a ration of 27 to 4. It could be suggested that although the pair *faran* – *ferian* is classified as representing a clear example of causative opposition in Old English, this high number of occurrences shows it lost its causative meaning or at least the meaning became specialized. The meaning of *ferian* ‘carry, transport’ is not precisely the same as ‘to cause X to *faran* = go’ but it is rather ‘to cause an inanimate X go/move (by one’s own going)’, and similarly meaning ‘to lead’ is not precisely the same as ‘to cause X to *faran* = go’ but rather ‘to cause an animate X to go (by going with X)’.

Another possible factor for the syntactic combination of *hātan* with these strong verbs is a coordination of two infinitives instead of coordination of a morphological causative expression and a syntactic one, as in (46).

- (46) *se hælend hine hete **faran** to Alexandrian byrig, and **bodian** geleafan*
(A10)

the Saviour bade/made him go to the town of Alexandria and preach the faith

However, although there are 7 occurrences of the coordination, all concern the combination with verb *faran*, in case of which the possibility of using a derived causative might not be relevant at all (see previous paragraph).

The verbs that combined with *lātan* are more diverse. Again, there is a majority of combinations with *faran* (23 out of 51, see previous discussion on *hātan*), another significant group is the combinations with *rēocan* (12 out of 51) and the other verbs that combined with *lātan* are *sittan* (5 out of 51), *licgan* (4 out of 51), *drincan* (3 out of 51), *feallan*, *singan*, *āprēotan* and *forweorþan* (all 1 out of 51).

Similarly to the previous analysis of the verbs combining with *hātan*, the verbs from the active intransitive end of scale prevail: *faran*, *sittan*, *licgan*, *drincan* (together 36 out of 51). Nevertheless, there is also a significant group of occurrences of the verb *rēocan*, which belongs to the opposite end of this scale, among inactive intransitive verbs that are quite likely to be a base for a morphologically formed causative verb. Although this kind of results might point to a growing tendency to use a syntactic causative expression as a prevailing means of expressing causativity, these occurrences are not only from the same text type, i.e. medical and leechdom books, but also occur in a same syntactic pattern.

The instances of *lāetan* from medical and leechdom books combine with aforementioned *rēocan* and with verbs *drincan* (3 cases) and *licgan* (2 cases) and *singan* (1 case). All the occurrences consist of an imperative of *lāetan* and an infinitive (see below). The embedded subject is expressed only once (see (39)), others are implied in the context (see (45)).

Excluding the instances from medical and leechdom books, it could be said that in most of the cases of *lāetan* the primary meaning of ‘permitting’ prevailed. In some cases the meaning allows both interpretations, i.e. ‘permitting’ and ‘causing’, or inclines more to expressing causation, as in (47).

(47) *seo wimman mid hire hwitle bewreah hine sona, **let** hine **licgan** swa ætlutian his feondum* (B8)

that woman with her cloak covered her son and ?allowed / made him lie so that (she let/made him) lie hid from his enemies

However, the causative meaning seems to prevail in the case of imperatives. As these texts represent instructions, the interpretation that suggests itself is ‘do X’ or ‘cause X to happen’ or ‘cause X to do Y’, rather than ‘allow X to do Y, give X permission to do Y’. The meaning ‘cause X to happen’ seems to coincide with the presence of an inanimate embedded subject, may it be overtly expressed or not (see (39)), whereas ‘cause X to do Y’ with the presence on an animate embedded subject, as see (48).

- (48) Ber þonne to ciricean, **læt singan** mæssan ofer (B49)
 bear it to church, ?allow / make (them) sing a mass/masses over (it)

The situation of *lætan* in combination with infinitive appears to be more complicated. A specific context of instructions, using an imperative, seems to allow the causative interpretation for verbs representing situations of both direct/manipulative and indirect/directive causation (see section 2.1. and 2.3.4.), and also for verbs from the inactive intransitive end of the scale of productivity constraints (see section 2.3.2, 2.4.1 and 4.1.). In this context *lætan* comes close to being used as a general causative auxiliary, however, in the development of English it will be construed as an imperative construction. In other contexts *lætan* seems to behave similarly as *hātan*, with a strong primary sense.

Although there are no combinations with the analyzed set of verbs, it could be hypothesized, in addition, that *macian*, which was not so functionally loaded in comparison to *hātan* and *lætan*, was available for the causative function later as its frequencies grew over time, see Figure 4 and 5.

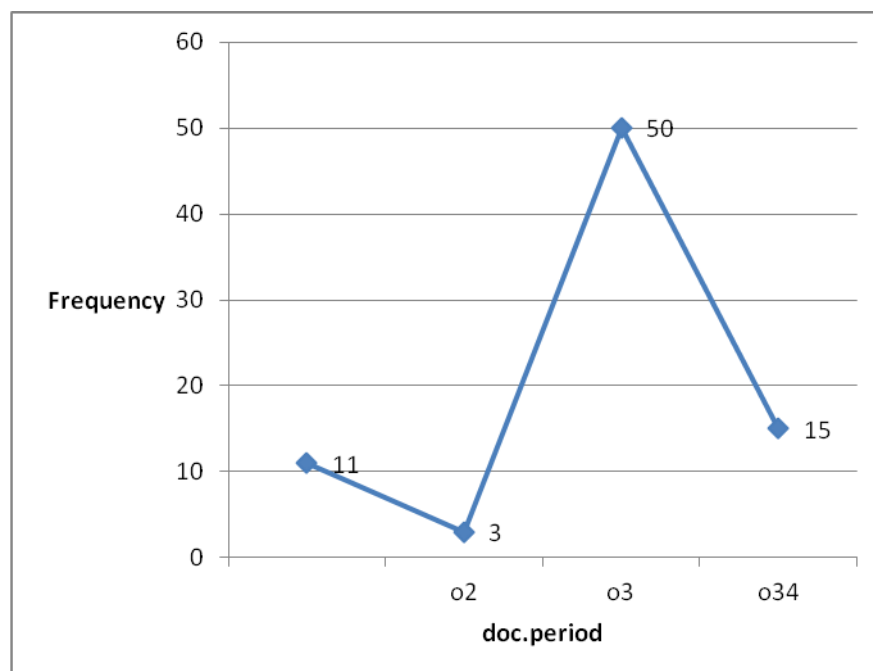


Figure 4. Absolute frequencies of *macian*

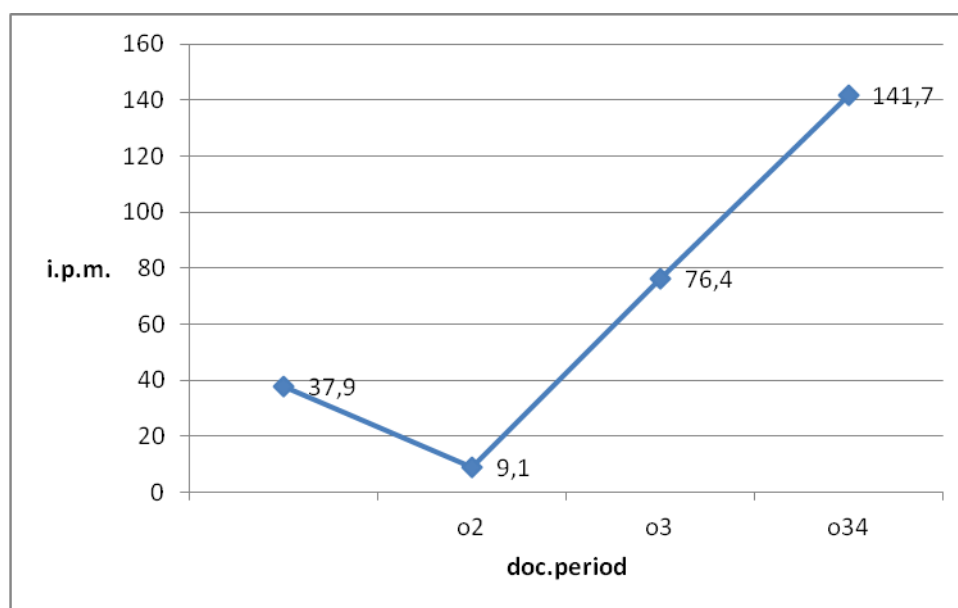


Figure 5. i.p.m. frequency of *macian*

5. Conclusion

As the inherited derivational system for morphological causatives in Old English was weakened and dependent on introflexion, which was being levelled out from the system, as well as on inflection, which was retreating, some means of compensating the disappearing category could be expected. As both lexical, especially labile, and syntactic causatives are a productive means of expressing causativity in the Present Day English, it could be expected that these forms might have its origins in earlier times and if so, they could have been reinforced at that time.

The labile verbs, representing the strategy not to compensate and let the meaning be context dependent, have indeed their origins in the pre-Old English period in collapsing oppositions, as is described by García García (2012a). A sample of morphological causative verbs that had been established as a member of morphological causative opposition was analyzed to see if they were liable to collapse with their counterparts. Although these verbs were expected to belong to a group characterized by not collapsing and being not specialized in meaning, there are examples of both processes in the data. However, due to insufficient data the results are inconclusive.

The second tested hypothesis was that there was another possible strategy of coping with the obscured causative relationship, i.e. syntactic use of causative auxiliaries. The assumption was that if this strategy was gaining grounds, syntactic causatives would have been able to combine with verbs that are at the beginning of the productivity constraints scale for morphological causatives described by Shibatani (2002a) and García García (2012a), i.e. not only with transitive verbs but also with intransitive ones, thus compensating for the gradual loss of morphological causatives.

The results showed that at this point of the development syntactic causatives do not contravene the general typological description. Although the verbs of compelling indeed do combine with verbs that have a causative counterpart, these verbs have a

volitional subject that can influence the completion of the action. An action that did not take place cannot be considered a part of causation situation. There are examples of *lētān* and infinitive that can be seen as coming close to the combination of a causative auxiliary and an infinitive (verbs from the beginning of the productivity constraints scale, both animate and inanimate objects / embedded subjects), but these seem to be text specific and conveying instructions.

Although some examples of combinations of two verbs that can be classified as a syntactic causative construction can be found, this strategy for expressing causativity was not strong enough and its expansion came in later periods of development.

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Résumé

Práce se zabývá vyjádřením kauzativity ve staré angličtině, zejména konkurencí morfologických a syntaktických kauzativ s ohledem na typologii kauzativních sloves a kauzativity obecně.

Definice pojmu kauzativum je závislá na definici kauzace a kauzativity a jejich klasifikaci. Kauzace představuje situaci, která se skládá ze dvou událostí, a to z události působící a události způsobené, přičemž bez události působící nemůže událost způsobená proběhnout. (Shibatani, 1976a; Song, 2005). Kauzativita je pak vyjádřením této mimojazykové skutečnosti v jazyce.

Na tuto situaci může být nahlíženo ze dvou perspektiv: z perspektivy událostí a z perspektivy účastníků děje. Podle vzájemné vzdálenosti obou událostí v čase lze kauzaci dělit na přímou a nepřímou. Podle toho, jak působící účastník děje uskuteční to, že se způsobená událost stane, lze kauzaci dělit na manipulativní a direktivní. Tyto dvě klasifikace je možné považovat za propojené, tedy kauzace se dělí na přímou/manipulativní a nepřímou/direktivní (Shibatani, 2002a; Song, 2005).

Kauzativní výrazy, většinou slovesa, lze pak klasifikovat v užším a širším slova smyslu. Klasifikace v širším slova smyslu je založena na sémantice a obecně se jedná o predikáty, které se označují jako akční mutace (Grepl and Karlík, 1998). Z podobně definovaného pojetí vychází i generativní gramatika a generativní sémantika. V užším slova smyslu se jedná o výrazy, mezi nimiž je formální vztah často vztah derivační. Kauzativní výrazy pak mohou být syntaktické, morfologické a lexikální (Comrie, 1989; Song, 2005).

Dvojici kauzativního a nekauzativního slovesa lze považovat za opozici. Ta může být řízená a neřízená (García García, 2012a; Nedyalkov a Silnitsky, 1973). Řízená opozice je tvořena slovesy, která jsou od sebe odvozena. Existuje několik podtypů:

- a) kauzativní opozice – kauzativní sloveso je odvozeno od nekauzativního
- b) perifrastická kauzativní opozice – prvek vyjadřující ‚přimět někoho udělat něco‘ se kombinuje s nekauzativním slovesem
- c) antikauzativní opozice – základem odvozování je kauzativní sloveso, ze kterého se vytvoří nekauzativní

Neřízená opozice je tvořena slovesy, která od sebe nejsou přímo odvozená. Kauzativa v této opozici odpovídají kauzativům lexikálním. Podtypy této opozice jsou:

- a) labilní – kauzativní i nekauzativní význam je vyjádřen jedním slovesem
- b) korelační – kauzativní a nekauzativní sloveso se od sebe liší částí kmene
- c) supletivní – vztah vyjadřují dvě rozdílná slovesa, která od sebe nejsou nijak odvozena

Kauzativita je považována za jev měnící valenci, jelikož do valence výchozího slovesa přidává dalšího konatele. Z toho plyne, že kauzativní slovesa jsou vždy tranzitivní, ale ne všechna tranzitivní slovesa jsou kauzativy.

Důležitým bodem popisu vlastností kauzativ je to, jak řeší navýšený počet argumentů ve valenční struktuře. Touto otázkou se zabývá Comrie (1974) a popisuje ji jako ‚The Paradigm Case‘. Jedná se o kombinaci omezení, která jsou kladena na využití syntaktických pozic při tvoření kauzativ, a jejich možných porušení.

Kromě popisu syntaktických omezení existují i popisy sémantických omezení. Zabývají se tím, jaké typy událostí mohou být základem pro lexikální a morfologická kauzativa. Lexikální kauzativa většinou nepředstavují událost s dvěma činitelskými rolemi. Morfologická kauzativa jsou tvořena od různých typů sloves, které lze seřadit do škály:

neaktivní intransitivní slovesa → slovesa, u kterých konatel vykonává činnost sám na sobě a slovesa požívání → aktivní intransitivní slovesa → transitivní slovesa

Pokud je možno v jazyce tvořit morfologická kauzativa z jednoho typu sloves, lze je tvořit i z typů, které mu na škále předcházejí (Shibatani, 2002a).

Kauzativita může být považována za případ jazykové ikoncity. Formální splynutí dvou predikátů, příčiny a následku (tj. lexikální – morfologické – syntaktické), odpovídá vzdálenosti mezi událostí působící a způsobenou. Kauzace přímá/manipulativní bude tedy spíše odpovídat kauzativům lexikálním a kauzace nepřímá/direktivní těm syntaktickým. Lze také říci, že tato klasifikace odpovídá tomu, jak těžké je způsobit, aby se určitá událost udála (Shibatani, 2002a; Song, 2005).

Kauzativita v indoevropštině byla vyjadřována morfologicky. Kauzativa byla odvozována sufixem **-éye/o-*, která se připojovala ke slovesnému kmeni, který obsahoval *o*-ablaut (Ringe, 2006).

V pragermánštině lze kauzativa ještě považovat za produktivní. Původní indoevropský sufix měl dvě varianty **-ija-* and **-ja-* a připojoval se ke tvaru singuláru minulého času, který obsahoval původní *o*-ablaut. Odvozená slovesa tvořila první třídu slabých sloves. Tento systém byl ovšem narušen splynutím kauzativního sufixu se sufixem, kterým byla odvozována slovesa od podstatných a přídavných jmen a který mohl být přidán ke slovům se stejným ablautovým stupněm jako měl tvar, od něhož se tvořila kauzativa.

Přestože je tvoření kauzativ v pragermánštině popisováno jako produktivní, existovala určitá omezení pro jejich odvozování. Ta se týkala sémantiky silných sloves, od kterých byla kauzativa odvozena (García García, 2012a; Ringe, 2006). Jedná se o upravenou škálu pro morfologická kauzativa:

neaktivní intransitivní slovesa → slovesa, u kterých konatel vykonává činnost sám na sobě → slovesa požívání → aktivní intransitivní slovesa

Ve staré angličtině se již silně projevuje polysémie sloves spadajících do první třídy slabých sloves. Nejenže ne všechna slovesa v této skupině vyjadřovala kauzativní význam ve vztahu k silnému slovesu, ale také některá kauzativní slovesa vlivem sémantické změny přestala tento význam vyjadřovat.

Stavba morfologických kauzativ, která měla původně viditelnou strukturu obsahující derivační sufix, začíná být neprůhledná. Navíc je zastřena několika hláskovými změnami: umlautem, zdvojováním souhlásek a tzv. Vernerovým zákonem. Přestože umlaut vytvořil určitý systém vokalických alternací, někteří autoři již tento stav nepovažují za systémový.

V této době navíc začíná docházet ke změnám ve valenci některých sloves, a to jak slabých kauzativních, tak i silných, od kterých byla kauzativa odvozena. Toto společně s oslabením flexe vedlo ke splývání některých párů, což je základem vzniku labilních opozic (García García, 2012a; Hogg, 1992a).

Syntaktická kauzativa ve staré angličtině mohla být okrajově tvořena pomocí několika sloves vyjadřujících ‚přikázat, povolit, dělat‘ (Royster, 1922).

Další vývoj kauzativ ve střední a raně moderní angličtině vyznačující se rostoucím množstvím labilních opozic a posílením perifrastických opozic odpovídá ztrátě flexe, k níž v angličtině došlo, a změně jazykového typu.

V současné angličtině jsou původní morfologická kauzativa okrajová a převládají lexikální a syntaktická. Samotná forma anglických sloves nevyjadřuje transitivitu a to, zda je sloveso užito intransitivně, tranzitivně nebo dokonce kauzativně, se pozná až z jednotlivých kontextů.

Syntaktická kauzativa se tvoří pomocí tzv. kauzativních pomocných sloves *cause*, *get*, *have*, *let*, *make*. Mohou se kombinovat hned s několika neurčitými slovesnými tvary, nejčastěji ovšem s infinitivem. Tvoří zejména kauzativní protějšky k tranzitivním slovesům (Baron, 1974).

Jelikož docházelo ve staré angličtině k oslabení a postupné ztrátě flexe, ztrácel se i relativně jasný vztah mezi kauzativním a nekauzativním slovesem. Tento vztah mohl být místo toho vyjádřen dvěma rozdílnými způsoby: syntaktickou konstrukcí nebo ponecháním významu závislého na kontextu.

Druhá z těchto dvou možností byla již v této době na vzestupu. Pokud by byla opravdu dostatečně silná, docházelo by ke stírání rozdílů i u sloves, která jsou jinak označována jako stále vyjadřující kauzativitu vzhledem k jejich výchozím slovesům (slovesa převzata podle García García (2012a)). Pokud by začalo posilovat syntaktické tvoření kauzativ, objevovaly by se v těchto konstrukcích nejen tranzitivní slovesa, ale i slovesa intransitivní, a to i slovesa, ke kterým existují výše zmíněná morfologická kauzativa.

Tyto dva předpoklady byly testovány na datech z těchto korpusů: *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Cameron, Crandell Amos a diPaolo Healey, 2011) a *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor, Warner, Pintzuk a Beths, 2003). K přípravě excerptce byl dále použit *Morphological Analyzer of Old English* (Tichý, 2014).

Přestože data ukazují na určité splývání některých kauzativních a nekauzativních sloves, není možné učinit průkazné závěry vzhledem k nevyrovnané povaze získaných dat.

V případě syntaktických konstrukcí byly zkoumány kombinace *hātan* „přikázat“, *lāetan* „povolit“ a *macian* „dělat“ s neurčitými tvary výše zmíněných výchozích sloves pro morfologická kauzativa. V případě *macian* nebyly nalezeny žádné výskyty. U *hātan* i *lāetan* hrálo důležitou roli jejich doplnění, a to jak povaha slovesa, se kterým se kombinovaly, tak i povaha jejich předmětu, který je zároveň vnořeným podmětem druhého slovesa.

Pokud předmět představuje živou entitu, která má vlastní vůli, jedná se spíše o kauzaci nepřímou/direktivní, která nemusí být nutně uskutečněna, a proto ne nutně zakládá vyjádření kauzativity. Těchto případů je v analyzovaných datech většina.

Pokud lze některé případy považovat za syntaktická kauzativa, pak toto odpovídá i zjištěním o ikonicitě kauzativ.

Většina sloves, která se objevují ve zkoumaných konstrukcích, patří na konec škály pro tvoření morfologických kauzativ, tedy je obtížnější je pro ně vytvořit. Nejčastěji se vyskytující je *faran* ‚jít‘. Objevila se ovšem i velká skupina slovesa *lātan* se slovesem *reocan* ‚kouřit (se)‘, které patří právě na opačný konec této škály, a tudíž by pro něj mělo být snadné vytvořit morfologické kauzativum. Je nutno dodat, že tato kombinace se vyskytuje ve specifickém kontextu (lékařské knihy) a *lātan* pouze ve tvaru imperativu. Konstrukce s *lātan* se v tomto spojení přibližuje syntaktickým kauzativním konstrukcím, jelikož se kombinuje jak s živými, tak i s neživými entitami, a stejně tak umožňuje kombinaci s tranzitivními i intranzitivními slovesy. Tento typ spojení představují instrukce, které by se ovšem později mohly stát základem pro imperativ s *let*.

Nebylo tedy možné potvrdit rostoucí vliv splývání kauzativních sloves a jejich nekauzativních protějšků ve staré angličtině. Chování vznikajících syntaktických sloves odpovídá typologickému popisu, ale podle analyzovaných dat se nezdá, že by jejich význam v této době významně narůstal.

Appendix